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ORATION

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

CITY COUNCIL AND CITIZENS

OF

BOSTON

ON THE

ONE HUNDRED AND NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

JULY 4, 1895

BY

REV. ADOLPH AUGUSTUS BERLE

[DOCUMENT 155 — 1895]



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THE CONSTITUTION AND THE CITIZEN.

MR. MAYOR AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

Once again in accordance with a wise custom established many years ago we are assembled by the authority and appointment of the city of Boston to celebrate the birthday of our beloved nation. Full of gratitude to Almighty God for the blessings which we have received with such unbounded liberality from His hand in the past, we seek anew, in the obedience to Him who is the Arbiter of all destiny, to still further work out our national life with fear and trembling, God working in us both to will and do of His good pleasure.

We have listened to the reading of the Declaration of Independence, and out of that utterance offered to the world as the Magna Charta of our liberties, on July 4, 1776, has come the union of States which we love and cherish to-day. It was a masterful statement. It had within it all the promise and possibility of the nation as yet unborn. Its very

language thrilled with the fiery zeal and enthusiastic devotion of those whose sentiments it expressed. It was the consummation of the long tutelage of the Anglo-Saxon under political systems which sought the elevation of the citizen as the potent political unit of government. It was heard with wonder when first proclaimed. It survives as our most glorious heritage.

But we shall be deceived if we imagine that the issuing of the Declaration of Independence created the United States of America. We shall build upon a false foundation if we argue that it gave us anything more than an impulse in the direction of a national movement. That declaration was in the line of the movement for a larger liberty, which was everywhere making itself felt, not in America alone, but also and as effectively in Europe. It was true to the Age-Spirit, and only occasion was needed to call for its annunciation. It breathed an atmosphere of liberty and human rights which was not new but only not yet fully accepted. It was a theoretical document in its essence, and in so far as stable government was concerned, it could hardly produce it. Declarations of Independence move the hearts and fire the courage of men, but governments are not founded upon them.

In support of this statement we have only to recall the history subsequent to the War of the Revolution. The Articles of Confederation under which the united colonies carried on their war for freedom constituted the loosest kind of a tie, only firm enough to hold them together when in the midst of the stress and necessity of war. But the moment peace was declared and the constructive work of national existence began, what do we find? Not a union of the people, but a mere voluntary confederation of States which could be broken at will, as it was broken, and vesting its functions of control in a body which is distinguished in our history chiefly by its pitiful record of impotency, ignorance, and selfishness. The "United States in Congress Assembled" was no more the representative body which to-day gathers for the enactment of laws under our Constitution than the handful of strugglers for liberty in the early days of the War of the Revolution constituted in any proper sense an army.

A government then remained still to be established. But before we examine the instrument, the acceptance of which created our nation a government, let us look at the period just preceding the constitutional convention which met at Philadelphia in 1787. Scarcely was peace declared than a

strange metamorphosis began in the personal quality of the ruling authorities of the Confederation. The most efficient leaders and the wisest and most thoughtful citizens began to be absent from the national councils, preferring, as it appears, rather to serve their individual States than the so-called general government. Both Washington and Jefferson commented on this fact, and the latter even wrote a letter urging that "young statesmen" be sent to Congress in order that they might be properly trained for the future needs of the nation. American citizenship at that period seemed to centre more around the idea of loyalty to the State than loyalty to the nation, and for the most part justifiably, for there was in reality no nation as yet in existence.

Vainly did the far-seeing Father of his Country endeavor to convince Congress of its duties in the direction of a closer and more efficient union. Vainly did the most earnest patriots by voice and pen urge the necessity of prompt action to save the infant Republic from dissolution. Without the slightest interest did Congress see the vicissitudes of a treasury which had no means of securing a revenue. Or funds being in hand, promptly did they vote themselves salaries, while the army waited for its slender pay. The service of the

nation was too contemptible for the most able, and not lucrative enough even for the incompetent. Credit the nation had but little, and that only because some of the States themselves had considerable. Appeal after appeal was made, and each time without any apparent result. If by any circumstance Congress was roused to action, it had no power to enforce its demands. It waited like a beggar at the table of the sovereign States. Well might Randolph call it, as in fact it was, a "government of supplication."

Nor were the difficulties of the administration all that the young nation had to contend with. England seeing the disorganization prevailing looked confidently to see enacted, by internal dissension, what she could not accomplish by force of arms. Trade and commerce began to vex the various States both as regarded their intercourse between themselves as well as that with foreign countries. Tariff barriers were erected between them. Lack of uniformity with reference to foreign commerce added to the natural irritations of competition. Already the Southern agriculturalists and the Northern manufacturers were contending for their various interests. Business success and prosperity were, under such conditions, manifestly impossible. Widespread depression fol-

lowed, and though the more cheerful and optimistic tried to disguise to themselves the actual condition of the land, the facts were only too real in their practical effect.

Still another danger threatened. There was no stable, if indeed there can be said to have existed any, national currency. The question of money was ever present. Robert Morris went out of the treasury announcing his inability to raise interest on foreign loans. In the States the battle between specie and paper money raged almost incessantly, now the one side and then the other triumphant. Rhode Island, always the most selfish and intractable of States, made it a penal offence to refuse paper at par; but a vigorous citizen butcher carried the case to the courts, and won a signal victory for honest money. This, too, was patriotism. Thus on every side were the clamors heard of States rights, of individual liberties, of fear of monarchy, of trade depression, of monetary wrangling, while the complacent mother country steadily shipped her felons to our shores to swell our criminal population, and looked forward to the day when she would again possess the land.

It was in this strait that it began to dawn upon the people that declarations do not make

nations; that national strength rests upon loyalty to the whole and not loyalty to a part; that dearly as Sam Adams loved Massachusetts he must love the United States more. That true to New York as her governor, George Clinton, was, he must be truer still to the National Union. It was this dawning consciousness, aided, it must be confessed, very materially by the events of the hour, that led finally to the calling of a constitutional convention first at Annapolis and afterward at Philadelphia.

The history of the Philadelphia convention is so well known that I need not to-day recall to you any of the almost insurmountable difficulties which it encountered in its own membership; of the despair which at least once overcame even the optimistic Franklin and moved him to call for the invocation of Divine aid in the deliberations. It is sufficient for our purpose here that it gave birth to the Constitution of the United States. The national feeling and spirit had seen the light. The nation was crystallized and a government, in fact, was born. But not at once even then. There were long struggles still. The Massachusetts Legislature rang with the earnest protests of Sam Adams against the proposed instrument; by a most slender majority, and then

only after the mighty battle in which Hamilton and Jay and Madison and other Federalists did valiant work, was New York brought to endorsement. All the States after more or less of struggle were brought in, only the little fractious and spiteful Rhode Island declining. But the end came at last, and the year saw the Constitution accepted and in force as the organic law and final source of authority for the people of the United States without respect of State or station.

Not that the Constitution was itself a perfect document. It was, even in the opinion of those who created it and loved it, as men can only love their own offspring, imperfect in many details. It invited difficulty and controversy. It practically dodged or surrendered the issue of slavery, but it was, humanly speaking, the best instrument that out of the combined wisdom and patriotism of the framers, and these joined to the natural difficulties of the situation itself, could be produced; and there it stands to-day, the pride and the safeguard of every citizen, because it came from a union of citizens and not from a union of States. This is what links the humblest citizen directly with the supreme law of the land. Our union was henceforth to be a

union of people, a fraternity of citizens having the majesty of the combined personality of millions of freemen, rather than a contract signed under duress to be broken when the arm of force was withdrawn.

There is something sublime in the thought which I have just presented, suggesting that the Constitution is something more than a formal alliance partaking of the nature of a contract. One remembers, then, not its language or the provisions of its various sections, but the manhood, the wisdom, the unselfish love of country, the patient labor and the anxious waiting which are here congealed, as it were, into a solid structure of adamant. As buildings suggest the character of their architects, as pictures reveal to the practised eye the personality of the painter, so the book or the treatise presents to the man of insight the life of him whose brain worked through its doctrines, and shaped the form of their expression. Thus, to say that this or that is constitutional is more than to say that it shall legally stand; it is as though one should say, This has behind it the force, the majesty, the patriotism, the unselfishness of all true citizenship from the foundation of our government until to-day. It is as though one should

announce, with the sublime confidence of one who had himself inherited their noble blood, This is the life of the founders living in us their children.

The Constitution, then, being the crystallized and combined personality of the citizens by whose adoption it became the supreme law of the land, its authority and dignity can be preserved only as it continues to represent the combined personality of the citizens who live under its sway. It thus becomes strangely true that the Constitution is in a measure the citizen, and also that the citizen is the Constitution. If for any reason or through any cause the organic law fails to represent the united personality of the people or a very large majority thereof, it is as truly null and void as though it had been abrogated by formal vote. The maintenance of the Constitution of the United States is not therefore a duty which can be delegated to public officers, but an ever-present obligation resting upon every citizen in the land without any reference whatever to his station, creed, or possessions. No man can ever become great enough to justly neglect it, and no man can ever become mean enough, without dishonor, to be deprived of it. The Constitution represents men, and when it

ceases to represent them truly, it ceases to be their source of civic rule.

For more than a century now we have lived under a constitutional government, and have made the exceptional and striking progress which is the never-ending source of wonder to the world. We have passed through many trials of depression, war, and disunion, but have survived them all. More marvellously than any romancer could have imagined it, have we grown in size, wealth, population, capability, civilization, and national power. We have been able to confound the mighty by our almost unheard-of defiance of the operations of natural law. We have been able to make blunders which, if made by any other nation, would probably have resulted in its complete ruin. We have been able apparently to conduct our national household on a scale which has led to a reckless extravagance for which no bounds can apparently be set. We have conducted our finances, our commerce, our education, our public service, by methods and with wastes that almost take us into the realms of fairyland when their combined figures are studied. But we are still here as a nation, and prosperous and still advancing. But it must be obvious to even the most modestly trained

thoughtful citizen that our resources cannot last forever; that we must sooner or later come to a realizing sense of our situation and the duties which it enforces upon us. More than this, we must begin to see to it that the expensive, dangerous errors of the past shall not recur to finally weaken our national system and destroy our institutions.

As our civilization and laws grow more complex, it is becoming needful to appeal more and more frequently to the Constitution for settlement of the new questions which are arising among us. Within the year past we have seen the Supreme Court ruling upon three questions of utterly dissimilar character, and yet each one full of suggestive thought for the future. One of these related to the income tax, another related to the question of election registration, the third had to do with the question of *habeas corpus* growing out of the Chicago strike. These are all significant matters. All three have one point in common; namely, that they deal personally with the individual citizen: the first, as to his money; the second, as to his vote; and the third, as to his person; and on each of these questions we have had a decision. The circumstances out of which these questions grew

are interesting in the accompanying demonstrations which they evoked.

It is not for me to discuss to-day questions upon which we have the right and privilege of differences of judgment; but I may with propriety venture to examine some of the general principles which seem to be involved in these decisions. Take first the decision of the Supreme Court with reference to the tax on incomes. Here we have a most singular fact to record. What is recognized as a right, proper, and just subject of taxation, a wise method of raising the necessary revenue, of half the civilized governments of the world, is here pronounced impossible and is forbidden. Does it not strike you as strange, that what England and France and Germany and Italy and Australia and many other nations practise as a habitual method of taxation should here be unconstitutional and void? I say it without any hesitation whatever, that if the Constitution does not permit the taxation of incomes, then the Constitution ought to be modified so that it will so permit. And why? Nothing in our land is more menacing than the increasing power of accumulated wealth. We have seen great corporations invade the private rights of citizens with an abandon that would

seem to be incredible if we had not become habituated to the wrong. We have seen Legislatures corrupted, and it is notorious that in some States vast sums have been expended to be used in influencing the choice of members of the United States Senate. We have repeatedly seen the interests of the people over-ridden in order that the selfish ends of private persons might be secured. Is it any wonder that the millions are misled into the hope of freedom by a debased currency? When creditor and debtor classes are arrayed against each other, and we see a governor of a Western State calling for a conference of other governors in the South and West with a view of combining commercially against the East, is it cowardice to ask what that symptom means? When within a month of each other two great voluntary assemblies of citizens meet in the same city to urge upon their fellow-citizens two diametrically opposed platforms with reference to the financial policy of the government, is it pessimism to inquire what is moving these people? I venture to say that at the bottom of all this agitation is simply the deep resentment among the people of all classes of thoughtful men of the fact that money is operating too effectively against the common interests.

Great accumulations of capital and the fearful neglect of the obligations which such possession imposes have deepened the consciousness of our people that somewhere there is something wrong. It is at this juncture, too, that the Supreme Court declares the tax on incomes unconstitutional. It may be, and probably is. But I say it solemnly that with the example and habitual practice of most of the civilized nations of the world before us, that tax ought to be made constitutional without the slightest delay. Wealth and the power that goes with wealth are great trusts, and whoever, having them, cannot see that he is a trustee for the common good in these things should be made to render up at least a fair proportion of his income as a just compensation for the protection and security which the authority of the government under which the wealth accumulates provides. It is absurd to declare such a tax wrongful. If there were no other argument in the world before us, the established habit of other nations and the manifest justice of this means of providing revenue would be sufficient to induce us to make such a method at least possible. Added thereto, our constant experience with the power of perverted wealth should silence all remaining doubts.

The doctrine which we seek to inculcate here is not, as is sometimes alleged falsely, that the prosperous are to be taxed in the interest and for the benefit of the listless and indolent. It is rather the idea that the strong ought to bear the burdens of the weak, and that those who make the largest draft upon the protective power of the government should bear the largest proportion of the expense incurred in maintaining that protection. It is the fair recognition of the maxim that to whom much is given of him will much be required. But we teach more than this. We teach that wealth carries with it vast responsibilities which are fraught with deepest consequences to the people at large; that public servants should not be subjected to temptations which will almost certainly overcome them; that private interests shall not stand in the way of humane progress, that life, and liberty, and human happiness shall be respected as belonging equally to all, and that the hardships of life shall not be made to bear unjustly upon those least favored; in brief, in the interest of a larger humanity, we proclaim that the man of wealth owes peculiar duties, and is placed in circumstances of especial obligation, to his fellow-citizens and his country. Public officials, legislatures, and

even courts themselves must be guarded with a strenuousness that cannot be too watchful. From wealth selfishly administered, and against the common good, arises their chiefest and most pressing danger. And though a Supreme Court decision may relieve the rich from the legal burdens imposed by law, it can never release them from the moral obligation which possession and opportunity create.

In the case of the South Carolina election cases we have another form of the same question of the citizen's relation to the Constitution. The deprivation of the ballot is probably the severest loss which can come to a citizen of the United States. Take from him that and he is lost to his country. And whoever conspires to thus deprive any citizen to whom the right of suffrage is granted by the Constitution, strikes directly and at once at the foundation of the rule of law in the land. It is probable that this was attempted in South Carolina under the election laws which have recently occupied the attention of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. It differed from the conventional methods which have the picturesque accompaniments of shotgun and mob, but it was none the less, in all probability, an attempt to disfranchise citizens

to whom the Constitution had secured the right of suffrage. All the land is filled with indignation at this wrong and others like it.

But while we are indignant, and justly indignant, at any attempt to deprive the citizen of his ballot by force or fraud, even when under the forms of law, what shall we say of him who, having the franchise, never or rarely exercises it for the welfare of his country, in settling the grave issues which confront us at almost every turn of our varied national existence? Can any man be truly patriotic who never registers? or when he registers never votes? Who is more culpable, he who, having the right of suffrage, tries to withhold it from those whom he considers incompetent to hold it, in the interest of what he considers good government, or he who, having it, fails to value it, thus confirming the rule of the ignorant, depraved, and vicious? If the Constitution represents the combined personality of citizens, then these are kindred evils before the bar of patriotic devotion and fidelity. In either case the suffrage is abridged, the difference being that one employs illegal means to suppress an ignorant and probably purchasable vote, while the other selects legal means in suppressing what is for the most part an intelligent and

non-purchasable vote. In either case votes are suppressed, and thus much of the citizenship, though needful to express the whole personality which is wrapped up in the Constitution, is lost to the use of the nation. Non-voting citizens, then, stand in the same relation to the whole nation, barring the legal consequences of crime, as do the regulators of the South, shotgun in hand. In Boston particularly, and in Massachusetts as a whole, this robbery is constantly practised. Using to the full the privileges which our country affords, and bending their energies to the accumulation of money and the laying up of vast fortunes, it is not strange that there should be a suspicious resemblance between the non-voting and the tax-dodging population, as well as between the absentees and the money corruptionists of our political contests.

What we have affirmed of the citizen's money is equally true of the citizen's vote. It is his own, and yet not his own. He may use it as he will, and yet he must use it for the common good, remembering that it is not a natural right which belongs to him, but a privilege which is conferred upon him, in the expectation that he will use it wisely, patriotically, and conscientiously. The highest law in the land is constantly appealing to

him, saying, I rest upon you and your fidelity. When you are false I am the sufferer.

No one who is at all acquainted with the temper and feeling of our citizenship can doubt that for the most part it is sound and truth-loving. It wants honesty and fairness. It loves law and hates mobs. It believes in righteousness, personal as well as civic. It honors courage and fidelity. It delights to give its best gifts to those who deserve them most. But it is a fact at the same time that conditions are maturing which constantly make for the average citizen entangling alliances, which obscure his moral sense, and make him do that which he would rather not do, and take upon himself burdens and pursue methods to which he is at heart thoroughly and conscientiously opposed. Business considerations, social obligations, political distinctions, and race prejudices, all conspire to take him away from the simplicity which would naturally govern him were he free and untrammelled. The first necessity of our political system is to make the citizen free; to apply all laws without respect of persons; and to impress upon all that justice will be administered and that the welfare of the lowest and poorest will be held as sacred as that of the highest and richest. Our citizenship must be

made free. It must be able to vote and speak fearlessly and with no regard for personal consequences. Only a free man can be a worthy citizen of a free country. Bondage is servitude though it be in terms of commercial slavery or financial obligation. Thus many flee from the ballot because they cannot exercise it as they would. Others, having been delivered to the lust of wealth, dare not appear on the lists. Still others skulk behind a false philosophy. Let it be rung into the ears of these all that he who robs the country of his political judgment, especially in times of the country's need, is a bandit more to be feared than he who steals its money. Like those timid, time-serving politicians who, aspiring for the highest office in the land, seek refuge in ambiguities and silence, when a mass of deluded people need the statesmanlike utterance of a bold, brave, lover of truth, who dare not by words fitly spoken place the apples of gold in the baskets of silver, so these, too, are the selfish sneaks who seek to enjoy what they cannot achieve, and filch from the labors of others the benefits which their own toil should in part supply.

The great Chicago strike and the riots which attended it are still fresh in memory. More damaging and destructive than many of the so-

called battles of our Civil War, it well illustrates the effect of our democratic life and institutions upon minds of a certain type. It is the reign and regard for law which distinguishes civilization from savagery. Whenever, therefore, there is a resort to destruction as argument, it is to that extent a lapse into the barbarism from which we are supposed, in part at least, to have emerged. In this difficulty we beheld the power of a single individual as truly declaring war against the federal government as was the firing on Sumter. We saw the mails of the United States blockaded with an abandon which showed as little conception of the relation of the citizen to the fundamental law of the land as it is well possible to imagine. And not only so, but we saw the chief executive of the State in which this riot occurred, which had for its manifest and declared object the literal overturning of the conditions of civilized life in the country, until certain demands should be met, openly denouncing the commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States for the exercise of his duty in sending troops to the spot to quell as real a rebellion as ever took place on American soil.

The seceding States at least contended that they had a constitutional right to withdraw from

the Union. These rebels took no cognizance of the Constitution at all. The ordinary rights of citizens, the privilege of pursuing one's lawful vocation unmolested, the natural and necessary intercourse between the people of the land by the only means of intercommunication at hand, were forcibly and with a positively sublime defiance of simple humanity trampled upon by a leader of a mob who, strangely enough, was also able to muster thousands of citizens of the country to coöperate with him in his rebellious and lawless enterprise. The ordinary guarantees of the Constitution were here simply dropped out of sight. The demands of the strikers were, with them, the first and the only consideration.

We may well question within ourselves what the tendency of democracy is if this is to be one of its characteristic products. Nor does this example stand alone. In the East, as well as in the West, we have seen the military arm of the country restoring order. What do these things mean? They indicate simply that we have been declaring rights so long that we have forgotten that rights also suggest duties, and that he who would enjoy the blessings of liberty and the institutions of democratic life must be willing, nay, must resolve as his solemn purpose, to help, aid, and assist in the

maintenance of that freedom by fidelity to every public obligation which the State shall impose upon him. Unrighteous though they be, statutes are still laws, and as such they must be obeyed. Political wrongs have political remedies, and for wrongs of equity we may still confidently rely that the incorrupt courts of our land will supply ample and speedy justice. Thus the person as well as the thought of the citizen is his country's, and when the call of duty comes he must be ready to spring to her rescue from destructive influences, whether these originate from one cause or another.

The reign of lawlessness in America within the past year has probably furnished to the world better evidence of the weakness of republicanism than the most deep-rooted prejudices of the Old World monarchies could possibly have invented, and it is a perfectly fair inference that the conflicts at Chicago and Brooklyn, the revealed corruptness of the New York police force, and similar disclosures, have not only damaged our own land in reputation, but have stayed for years the progress of other nations toward a larger personal liberty. If the foremost republic of the world, with all the manhood and power and resources which are hers, shall, after a hundred years of

experience, show forth these as the results of a free civilization which rests upon the personal loyalty and individual fidelity of the citizen to the supreme law of the country, then it may well be questioned whether the time for the extension of democracy has come. Side by side with our splendid Exposition, wherein we demonstrated how quickly our young nation could rival the older nations in commerce, industry, and the arts, we have also shown that we have as an integral part of our national thought a lack of national unity and loyalty, and an absence of interest in and respect for authority, which is at best discouraging.

But there is an encouraging feature, and it may well be claimed to be the most important achievement of our century of national existence; namely, that we have now so thoroughly integrated the Constitution of the United States into the law of the various States, that more and more the tendency of our people will be to look at all questions involving careful political judgment and a high sense of political loyalty from the truly national standpoint. The supremacy of the Constitution then will appear more and more, not in that it stands as a final test, but in that it will be becoming more and more the integral law of the States as well. Such in fact

it already is, only that the increasing sense of public duty among citizens will fix the fact deeper in the consciousness of the people at large. In addition hereto the vice of our present mode of legislation, which makes our Congressmen not legislators for the nation, but private agents for their constituencies, will be overcome, and the sectional prejudices and interests, whether of silver or industrial tariffs, will give way to a healthy and patriotic consideration of the welfare of the nation as a whole.

Another and important effect which the recognition of personal obligation to sustain the national law and character in the exercise of the suffrage of citizenship will secure, will be the elevation of the public service both at home and abroad. The appointment of the nation will be honorable enough to attract to the public offices those who are able to give to their administration a dignity and character which will adequately sustain and enhance the national ideals. Our ministers at home and our ambassadors abroad will not be men merely who have exhibited strength in political campaigns, but scholars and gentlemen who have earned laurels in the circles and in the occupations which require high culture, liberal education, and sterling character. Our consular

service will feel the impulse and take on more of character and capacity. The civil service throughout the land will be elevated both in personal quality and fitness for its duties, and we shall achieve something like business directness in government.

Only a day or two ago we saw a marvellous pageant of the warships of nations assembling to celebrate the opening of the new Kaiser Wilhelm canal at Kiel. When we remember that but a single appropriation was made for that great feat of engineering skill, and that the work was completed with a balance of the appropriation still in hand, and the canal opened upon the day appointed when the work was begun, and then reflect upon the contrast furnished by our land in the similar undertakings, the State House at Albany being a conspicuous example, we cannot but feel that we have much to learn in the science of good government. But good government cannot be secured without the coöperation of every citizen, and the most earnest activity of the individual conscience in the conduct of public affairs. It is the citizen, with his brain and heart alive to the duties by which he must uphold his country's honor and reputation, upon whom this burden rests. He must give his government his own personality, his conscience crowning all.

We see, then, how intimate under our system of government is the relation of each individual to the welfare of the whole as represented in the maintenance of the law of the land, and the just and conscientious discharge of public duty. We have not been following will-o'-the wisps of abstract theory or seeking impractical ideals, but have been enforcing this relationship from concrete facts drawn from our current life as a people. Many and grave are the moral considerations which should deeply impress upon us all the necessity for a prompt and generous response to the new civic movement which is everywhere springing into existence. At best our efforts must be within a contracted sphere, and the issue after all is not ours, but humanity's and God's. "Man," says Victor Hugo, "is neither master of his life nor of his fate. He can but offer to his fellow-men his efforts to diminish human suffering; he can but offer to God his indomitable faith in the growth of Liberty." These, in the large generous sense in which we are accustomed to think out our American life and purpose, constitute the aim of American citizenship,—to diminish suffering and to promote liberty through faith. On the one hand there must be a growing sense of the inter-dependence of all, and on the other

a fixed belief that we shall ultimately triumph in the midst of all our perplexities, and come off conquerors in the battle for human rights and freedom under law. We shall not in the ordinary course of affairs be exempt from the mistakes which come to all positive strivers for the truth, we shall not forego the hardships attendant upon all pioneering in the fields of human progress and helpfulness, but we shall be linked through it all, suffering and delight, victory and defeat, to the idea of a lofty attempt toward a perfected humanity which shall endure as long as the race remains upon the earth. We have made a determined stand for liberty, and have secured it. Let us make an equally brave stand for unity, and secure that also. Through individual peculiarities of race, lineage, character, and attainments, let us see the grand composite of the American ideal working out in a sublime devotion to the common good.

A LIST
OF
BOSTON MUNICIPAL ORATORS.

By C. W. ERNST.

BOSTON ORATORS.

APPOINTED BY THE MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES.

For the Anniversary of the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770.

NOTE.—The Fifth-of-March orations were published in handsome quarto editions, now very scarce; also, collected in book form, in 1785, and again in 1807. The oration of 1776 was delivered in Watertown.

1771. — LOVELL, JAMES.
1772. — WARREN, JOSEPH.
1773. — CHURCH, BENJAMIN.
1774. — HANCOCK, JOHN.^a
1775. — WARREN, JOSEPH.
1776. — THACHER, PETER.
1777. — HICHBORN, BENJAMIN.
1778. — AUSTIN, JONATHAN WILLIAMS.
1779. — TUDOR, WILLIAM.
1780. — MASON, JONATHAN, JUN.
1781. — DAWES, THOMAS, JUN.
1782. — MINOT, GEORGE RICHARDS.
1783. — WELSH, THOMAS.
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For the Anniversary of National Independence, July 4, 1776.

NOTE.—A collected edition, or a full collection, of these orations has not been made. For the names of the orators, as officially printed on the title pages of the orations, see the Municipal Register of 1890.

1783. — WARREN, JOHN.¹
1784. — HICHBORN, BENJAMIN.
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^a Reprinted in Newport, R.I., 1774, 8vo, 19 pp.

¹ Reprinted in Warren's Life. The orations of 1783 to 1786 were published in large quarto; the oration of 1787 appeared in octavo; the oration of 1788 was printed in small quarto; all succeeding orations appeared in octavo, with the exceptions stated under 1863 and 1876.

1785. — GARDINER, JOHN.
 1786. — AUSTIN, JONATHAN LORING.
 1787. — DAWES, THOMAS, JUN.
 1788. — OTIS, HARRISON GRAY.
 1789. — STILLMAN, SAMUEL.
 1790. — GRAY, EDWARD.
 1791. — CRAFTS, THOMAS, JUN.
 1792. — BLAKE, JOSEPH, JUN.²
 1793. — ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY.²
 1794. — PHILLIPS, JOHN.
 1795. — BLAKE, GEORGE.
 1796. — LATHROP, JOHN, JUN.
 1797. — CALLENDER, JOHN.
 1798. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.^{2, 3}
 1799. — LOWELL, JOHN, JUN.²
 1800. — HALL, JOSEPH.
 1801. — PAINE, CHARLES.
 1802. — EMERSON, WILLIAM.
 1803. — SULLIVAN, WILLIAM.
 1804. — DANFORTH, THOMAS.²
 1805. — DUTTON, WARREN.
 1806. — CHANNING, FRANCIS DANA.⁴
 1807. — THACHER, PETER.^{2, 5}
 1808. — RITCHIE, ANDREW, JUN.²
 1809. — TUDOR, WILLIAM, JUN.²
 1810. — TOWNSEND, ALEXANDER.
 1811. — SAVAGE, JAMES.²

² Passed to a second edition.

³ Delivered another oration in 1826. Quincy's oration of 1793 was reprinted, also, in Philadelphia.

⁴ Not printed.

⁵ On February 26, 1811, Peter Thacher's name was changed to Peter Oxenbridge Thacher. (List of Persons whose Names have been Changed in Massachusetts, 1780-1892, p. 21.)

1812. — POLLARD, BENJAMIN.⁴
1813. — LIVERMORE, EDWARD ST. LOE.
1814. — WHITWELL, BENJAMIN.
1815. — SHAW, LEMUEL.
1816. — SULLIVAN, GEORGE.²
1817. — CHANNING, EDWARD TYRREL.
1818. — GRAY, FRANCIS CALLEY.
1819. — DEXTER, FRANKLIN.
1820. — LYMAN, THEODORE, JUN.
1821. — LORING, CHARLES GREELY.²
1822. — GRAY, JOHN CHIPMAN.
1823. — CURTIS, CHARLES PELHAM.²
1824. — BASSETT, FRANCIS.
1825. — SPRAGUE, CHARLES.⁶
1826. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.⁷
1827. — MASON, WILLIAM POWELL.
1828. — SUMNER, BRADFORD.
1829. — AUSTIN, JAMES TRECOTHICK.
1830. — EVERETT, ALEXANDER HILL.
1831. — PALFREY, JOHN GORHAM.
1832. — QUINCY, JOSIAH, JUN.
1833. — PRESCOTT, EDWARD GOLDSBOROUGH.
1834. — FAY, RICHARD SULLIVAN.
1835. — HILLARD, GEORGE STILLMAN.
1836. — KINSMAN, HENRY WILLIS.
1837. — CHAPMAN, JONATHAN.
1838. — WINSLOW, HUBBARD. "The Means of the Perpetuity and Prosperity of our Republic."
1839. — AUSTIN, IVERS JAMES.

⁴ Six editions up to 1831. Reprinted also in his *Life and Letters*.

⁷ Reprinted in his *Municipal History of Boston*. See 1798.

1840. — POWER, THOMAS.
1841. — CURTIS, GEORGE TICKNOR. “The True Uses of American Revolutionary History.”⁸
1842. — MANN, HORACE.⁹
1843. — ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS.
1844. — CHANDLER, PELEG WHITMAN. “The Morals of Freedom.”
1845. — SUMNER, CHARLES.¹⁰ “The True Grandeur of Nations.”
1846. — WEBSTER, FLETCHER.
1847. — CARY, THOMAS GREAVES.
1848. — GILES, JOEL. “Practical Liberty.”
1849. — GREENOUGH, WILLIAM WHITWELL. “The Conquering Republic.”
1850. — WHIPPLE, EDWIN PERCY.¹¹ “Washington and the Principles of the Revolution.”
1851. — RUSSELL, CHARLES THEODORE.
1852. — KING, THOMAS STARR. “The Organization of Liberty on the Western Continent.”¹²
1853. — BIGELOW, TIMOTHY.¹³
1854. — STONE, ANDREW LEETE.²
1855. — MINER, ALONZO AMES.
1856. — PARKER, EDWARD GRIFFIN. “The Lesson of ’76 to the Men of ’56.”

⁸ Delivered another oration in 1862.

⁹ There are five editions; only one by the City.

¹⁰ Passed through three editions in Boston and one in London, and was answered in a pamphlet, *Remarks upon an Oration delivered by Charles Sumner . . .*, July 4th, 1845. By a Citizen of Boston. See *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, by Edward L. Pierce, vol. ii. 337-384.

¹¹ There is a second edition. (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. 1850. 49 pp. 12^o.)

¹² First published by the City in 1892.

¹³ This and a number of the succeeding orations, up to 1861, contain the speeches, toasts, etc., of the City dinner usually given in Faneuil Hall on the Fourth of July.

1857. — ALGER, WILLIAM ROUNSEVILLE.¹⁴ "The Genius and Posture of America."
 1858. — HOLMES, JOHN SOMERS.²
 1859. — SUMNER, GEORGE.¹⁵
 1860. — EVERETT, EDWARD.
 1861. — PARSONS, THEOPHILUS.
 1862. — CURTIS, GEORGE TICKNOR.⁸
 1863. — HOLMES, OLIVER WENDELL.¹⁶
 1864. — RUSSELL, THOMAS.
 1865. — MANNING, JACOB MERRILL. "Peace under Liberty."
 1866. — LOTHROP, SAMUEL KIRKLAND.
 1867. — HEPWORTH, GEORGE HUGHES.
 1868. — ELIOT, SAMUEL. "The Functions of a City."
 1869. — MORTON, ELLIS WESLEY.
 1870. — EVERETT, WILLIAM.
 1871. — SARGENT, HORACE BINNEY.
 1872. — ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, JUN.
 1873. — WARE, JOHN FOTHERGILL WATERHOUSE.
 1874. — FROTHINGHAM, RICHARD.
 1875. — CLARKE, JAMES FREEMAN.

¹⁴ Probably four editions were printed in 1857. (Boston: Office Boston Daily Bee. 60 pp.) Not until November 22, 1864, was Mr. Alger asked by the City to furnish a copy for publication. He granted the request, and the first official edition (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1864. 53 pp.) was then issued. It lacks the interesting preface and appendix of the early editions.

¹⁵ There is another edition. (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1859. 69 pp.) A third (Boston: Rockwell & Churchill, 1882. 46 pp.) omits the dinner at Faneuil Hall, the correspondence and events of the celebration.

¹⁶ There is a preliminary edition of twelve copies. (J. E. Farwell & Co., 1863. (7), 71 pp.) It is "the first draft of the author's address, turned into larger, legible type, for the sole purpose of rendering easier its public delivery." It was done by "the liberality of the City Authorities," and is, typographically, the handsomest of these orations. This resulted in the large-paper 75-page edition, printed from the same type as the 71-page edition, but modified by the author. It is printed "by order of the Common Council." The regular edition is in 60 pp., octavo size.

1876. — WINTHROP, ROBERT CHARLES.¹⁷
1877. — WARREN, WILLIAM WIRT.
1878. — HEALY, JOSEPH.
1879. — LODGE, HENRY CABOT.
1880. — SMITH, ROBERT DICKSON.¹⁸
1881. — WARREN, GEORGE WASHINGTON. "Our Republic — Liberty and Equality Founded on Law."
1882. — LONG, JOHN DAVIS.
1883. — CARPENTER, HENRY BERNARD. "American Character and Influence."
1884. — SHEPARD, HARVEY NEWTON.
1885. — GARGAN, THOMAS JOHN.
1886. — WILLIAMS, GEORGE FREDERICK.
1887. — FITZGERALD, JOHN EDWARD.
1888. — DILLAWAY, WILLIAM EDWARD LOVELL.
1889. — SWIFT, JOHN LINDSAY.¹⁹ "The American Citizen."
1890. — PILLSBURY, ALBERT ENOCH. "Public Spirit."
1891. — QUINCY, JOSIAH.²⁰ "The Coming Peace."
1892. — MURPHY, JOHN ROBERT.
1893. — PUTNAM, HENRY WARE. "The Mission of our People."
1894. — O'NEIL, JOSEPH HENRY.
1895. — BERLE, ADOLPH AUGUSTUS. "The Constitution and the Citizen."

¹⁷ There is a large-paper edition of fifty copies printed from this type, and also an edition from the press of John Wilson & Son, 1876. 55 pp. 8°.

¹⁸ On Samuel Adams, a statue of whom, by Miss Anne Whitney, had just been completed for the City. A photograph of the statue is added.

¹⁹ Contains a bibliography of Boston Fourth of July orations, from 1783 to 1889, inclusive, compiled by Lindsay Swift, of the Boston Public Library.

²⁰ Reprinted by the American Peace Society.

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